

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 3528

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y 8(TEXT PARA 4)

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: VISIT OF AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE

1. AMBASSADOR ROBERT STRAUZS-HUPE REVISITED STOCKHOLM AUGUST 14-23. PROGRAM ARRANGED BY MFA INCLUDED APPOINTMENTS WITH MOST PROMINENT OFFICIALS AND OTHER LEADING FIGURES. MFA SECRETARY-GENERAL HOSTED LUNCH AUGUST 17 AND CHARGE DID SAME AUGUST 18. ON AUGUST 19 STRAUZS-HUPE GAVE CHARGE SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF HIS MAIN CONVERSATIONS, SALIENT POINTS OF WHICH FOLLOW. (THIS MESSAGE WAS CLEARED IN DRAFT WITH STRAUZS-HUPE.)

2. PRIME MINISTER FALLDIN. FALLDIN OFFERED NO DETAILS OF NEW GOS ECONOMIC MEASURES, ALTHOUGH THIS WAS MAIN TOPIC OF CONVERSATION AND FALLDIN ACKNOWLEDGED SWEDEN'S PROBLEMS. FALLDIN'S GENERAL STRATEGY WAS TO HOLD SWEDISH WAGES AND PRICES STEADY WHILE REST OF WORLD CAUGHT UP; EVENTUALLY SWEDEN'S COMPETITIVE POSITION WOULD BE REGAINED. FALLDIN MENTIONED A CONTAINED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM (TO COPE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT) AND CONSOLIDATIONS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY WHICH GOS WOULD ENCOURAGE. FALLDIN NOTED INCREASE IN SWEDISH DEFENSE BUDGET (ALTHOUGH PER CENT OF GNP REMAINS SAME), AND SAID NO DECISION TAKEN YET ON CONSTRUCTING B3LA AIRCRAFT.

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ON STRATEGIC MATTERS, FALLDIN, ADVERTING TO POPULAR DISCONTENT IN POLAND AND ELSEWHERE IN EE, CONCLUDED THAT THESE TROUBLES CREATED SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND, THUS, LESSENER DANGER OF WAR IN EUROPE. (STRAUSZ-HUPE TOLD HIM THAT HE VIEWED THINGS DIFFERENTLY IN NATO.) FALLDIN REITERATED SUPPORT OF ALL PARTIES FOR SWEDEN'S POLICY OF NEUTRALITY. IN HIM COMMENTS, STRAUZS-HUPE TOLD FALLDIN: SWEDISH ARMED NEUTRALITY WAS VERY

IMPORTANT TO BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE AND WAS GREATLY VALUED BY US; CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS EARNESTLY SEEKING A SALT AGREEMENT AND GENUINELY DESIRED AN EAST-WEST BALANCE; RE SITUATION IN EUROPE, IF WEST LET DOWN ITS GUARD THEN GRAVE RISKS APPEARED, EVEN ASIDE FROM LOSING IMPORTANT BARGAINING CHIPS. (TO SEVERAL INTERLOCUTERS, STRAUZS-HUPE PREACHED WHAT HE CALLED "THE NATO DOCTRINE ACCORDING TO STRAUZS-HUPE," I.E. THE ARGUMENTS FOR A STRONG AND UNITED WEST AND FOR SWEDEN'S DEVELOPING CLOSER TIES WITH NATO. (STRAUSZ-HUPE, FULLY AWARE OF FINNISH CONNECTION, SAID HIS SWEDISH FRIENDS LAUGHED, BUT WERE NOT IRRITATED BY THE ARGUMENT AS THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN A FEW YEARS AGO.) ON FALLDIN HIMSELF, STRAUZS-HUPE FELT HE HAD GROWN IN OFFICE, FOUND HIM RATHER IMPRESSIVE AS PRIME MINISTER, BUT WAS DISAPPOINTED IN HIS ECONOMIC PROGRAM, WHICH HE THOUGHT IGNORED SWEDEN'S STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS AND LEFT IT TO THE REST OF THE WORLD TO SOLVE SWEDEN'S PROBLEMS. STRAUZS-HUPE HAD DOUBTS ABOUT THE HARMONY OF THE PRESENT COALITION GOVERNMENT, AS WELL.

3. ECONOMICS MINISTER BOHMAN. BOHMAN WAS CANDID (AS USUAL) ABOUT SWEDEN'S TOUGH ECONOMIC SITUATION AND ALSO ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY OF RUNNING THE THREE-PARTY COALITION GOVERNMENT. HE HAD SOME HARD WORDS FOR LIBERAL PARTY LEADER AHLMARK; HE WAS ALSO HARD ON FORMER PRIME MINISTER PALME, WHO, BOHMAN, SAID, WAS VOYAGING TO AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE TO BUILD UP HIS IMAGE, TRYING TO REPLACE VIETNAM WITH APARTHEID AS A DEVICE TO APPEAL TO YOUNG SWEDES. ON THE ECONOMY, BOHMAN SPOKE OF STEEL INDUSTRY CONSOLIDATION.

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DATION. HE NOTED THAT AUSTERITY WAS DEMANDED BY THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, BUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOV TO ASK SACRIFICES OF THE POPULACE AT THIS TIME. ON NUCLEAR MATTERS (WHICH STRAUZS-HUPE DID NOT DISCUSS WITH FALLDIN), PARTICULARLY US SUPPLY POLICY, STRAUZS-HUPE GAVE HIS PERSONAL OPINION TO BOHMAN THAT IT WOULD BE HARD FOR PRESIDENT CARTER TO MAKE ANY EXCEPTIONS FOR SWEDEN. IN DISCUSSING HUMAN RIGHTS WITH BOHMAN, STRAUZS-HUPE SAID IT WAS TRUE PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY HAD A HIGH PRICE TAG: THIS WAS UNDERSTANDABLE, SINCE US POLICY NOT ONLY UPHELD TRADITIONAL US PRINCIPLES BUT ALSO IN FACT "ATTACKED THE SOFT UNDERBELLY -- THE VERY LEGITIMACY -- OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM." (COMMENT: THIS IS NOT THE WAY THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN PRESENTING OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.)

4. FOREIGN MINISTER KARIN SODER. MRS. SODER EXPRESSED GREAT SATISFACTION WITH HER RECENT US VISIT, PARTICULARLY HER TIME WITH SECRETARY VANCE. SHE AND STRAUZS-HUPE TALKED A GOOD DEAL ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO AND THE MIDDLE EAST. A PARTICULAR POINT OF INTEREST WAS FINLAND, WHERE MRS. SODER VOICED GROWING CONCERN OVER FINNISH IMMIGRATION INTO

SWEDEN, "EMPTYING" NORTHERN FINLAND. SHE WAS ALSO WORRIED ABOUT FINLAND'S RELATIVE WEAKNESS VIS-A-VIS THE USSR. ASKED ABOUT THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM, STRAUSSZ-HUPE SAID HE GAVE TWO SUGGESTIONS: FIRST, SWEDEN AND OTHERS HAD TO HELP FINLAND BUILD UP INDUSTRIES IN THE NORTH TO KEEP FINNS AT HOME; SECOND, A "POPULATION POLICY" SIMILAR TO THE USSR'S IN SIBERIA HAD TO BE WORKED OUT, TO PROVIDE GENUINE INCENTIVES FOR PEOPLE TO STAY IN, OR MOVE INTO, NORTHERN FINLAND.

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5. DEFENSE MINISTER KRONMARK. BECAUSE OF THE BUILDUP ON THE NORTHERN FLANK, KRONMARK SAID HE WAS AWARE OF THE INCREASED IMPORTANCE OF SWEDEN IN THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NORTHERN EUROPE. HE COMMENTED ON THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES IN THE BALTIC. KRONMARK THEN SAID, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM STRAUSSZ-HUPE: "IT IS UNLIKELY SWEDEN COULD STAY OUT OF A CENTRAL EUROPEAN WAR." (COMMENT: THIS STATEMENT GOES AGAINST STANDARD SWEDISH DOCTRINE AND SHOULD NOT BE QUOTED, IN THE EMBASSY'S OPINION, SINCE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR KRONMARK TO DEFEND PUBLICLY.) REGARDING SWEDISH DEFENSE DECISIONS, KRONMARK SAID HE WANTED BADLY TO GO AHEAD WITH THE B3LA AIRCRAFT, TO KEEP SWEDISH INDUSTRY GOING AND ALSO FOR THE AIRCRAFT ITSELF; BUT THE DECISION WAS NOT YET TAKEN. THE SWEDES WERE WORKING ON A VERY ADVANCED INFRA RED GUIDED MISSILE FOR THIS AIRCRAFT TO BE PRODUCED JOINTLY BY SAAB AND BOFORS. ALTHOUGH THE GOS MIGHT WISH TO PROCURE THE GE ENGINE FOR THE PROJECTED PLANE, IF THAT ENGINE WAS NOT MADE AVAILABLE THEY WOULD BUY THE ROLL-ROYCE RB199 OR THE PRATT-WHITNEY F100. WITH ONE OF THE LATTER, KRONMARK SAID, A MACH .9 AIRCRAFT WOULD RESULT. (COMMENT: DAO BELIEVES THE FIGURE OF A .9 MACH WITH THE UK ENGINE IS TOO HIGH; IT IS THE LOWEST POWERED OF THE THREE ENGINES.) STRAUSSZ-HUPE SAID HE GAVE

KRONMARK HIS STANDARD DOCTRINE ABOUT SWEDEN'S STAKE IN NATO.

6. SUPREME COMMANDER SYNNERGREN. SYNNERGREN EXPRESSED CONCERN
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ABOUT THE POSSIBLE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY, WHICH HE CONSIDERED THE GREATEST THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. (STRAUSZ-HUPE SAID THAT WHEN HE HIMSELF TALKED ABOUT HARD-LINERS OF A YOUNGER GENERATION SUCCEEDING BREZHNEV, SYNNERGREN SAID THE SAME MIGHT HAPPEN IN BOTH GERMANIES AND THEY MIGHT THUS FIND THEMSELVES WITH SIMILAR LEADERS WHO COULD DECIDE TO GET BACK TOGETHER.) (COMMENT: THE EMBASSY DOES NOT KNOW HOW TYPICAL THIS IS OF GENERAL SYNNERGREN'S THINKING, BUT CONSIDERS THE SUBJECT SENSITIVE ENOUGH TO ADVISE NOT QUOTING HIM AT ALL ON THIS. DAO HAS NOT HEARD HIM EXPRESS THIS CONCERN BEFORE.) SYNNERGREN EXPRESSED REGRET OVER THE DECISION NOT TO PROCEED WITH THE B-1 BOMBER. HE SPOKE OF HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO CHINA IN OCTOBER, AND SAID HE WAS SURE THE CHINESE HAD INVITED HIM BECAUSE THEY FELT HE HAD VERY STRONG VIEWS ON THE USSR. SYNNERGREN EXPRESSED TO STRAUZ-HUPE HIS VERY HIGH REGARD FOR GENERAL BROWN (WHOME HE VISITED IN APRIL.)

7. SVERKER ASTROM, FORMER SECRETARY-GENERAL OF MFA. SPEAKING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ASTROM RECALLED BRANDT'S FAMOUS RECEPTION AT ERFURT IN THE GDR, AND EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE UPRISINGS IN EE, WHICH COULD BE THE CAUSE OF WAR IN EUROPE. REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS, IT WORRIED HIM THAT THE US WAS TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT: ASTROM REMEMBERED THE PRAGUE SPRING OF 1968, WHEN THE US FINALLY SAID AND DID LESS THAN OTHER SMALLER POWERS. ASTROM DWELT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF FINLAND, AND DREW AN ANALOGY WITH THE RESTIVE SITUATION IN THE GDR. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH ASTROM AND OTHERS IN THE GOS SPEAK TO EMBASSY OFFICERS OFTEN OF FINLAND, WE HAVE NOT HEARD THIS COMPARISON WITH THE GDR BEFORE. THE IMPLICATION PRESUMABLY IS THAT REACTIVE PRESSURE AGAINST THE SOVIET LID COULD CAUSE REPERCUSSIONS IN EITHER PLACE.) ASTROM ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE INCREASE IN SOVIET STRENGTH ON THE NORTHERN FLANK. SPEAKING OF TIES BETWEEN SWEDISH AND FRENCH SOCIALISTS, ASTROM QUOTED A SOUR COMMENT BY PCF POLITBURO MEMBER JEAN CANAPA ON THE EXCESSIVE INFLUENCE OF SWEDISH ON FRENCH SOCIALISTS.
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8. PIERRE SCHORI, PALME'S PRINCIPAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR (PALME HIMSELF WAS AWAY FROM STOCKHOLM DURING STRAUZ-HUPE'S VISIT.) IN BROAD DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. SCHORI SAID INTER ALIA: PALME HAD SAID DURING HIS NEW YORK VISIT AT THE END OF 1976 THAT CUBAN TROOPS CONSTITUTED A CERTAIN STABILIZING

FORCE IN ANGOLA IN THAT THEY WERE THERE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR SOVIET TROOPS, WHOME SOME ANGOLANS (NOTABLY ALVES) HAD WISHED TO CALL IN (SCHORI THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE ORIGIN OF AMBASSADOE ANDREW YOUNG'S PUBLIC COMMENTS ON THE CUBANS IN AFRICA); PALME WAS CONVINCED MITTERRAND WAS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO DOMOCRATICE SOCIALISM, ALTHOUGH HE AND OTHER EUROPEAN SOCIALIST LEADERS HAD PROBLEMS IN GETTING ALONG WITH HIM PERSONALLY; IN A RECENT MEETING WITH SCHORI, SOVIET AMBASSADOR JAKOVLEV HAD BROUGHT ALONG AND EMPHASIZED THE RECENT SOVIET ARTICLE DENOUNCING CARRILLO'S BOOK (WHICH IS SELLING WELL ON BLACK MARKET IN PRAGUE) AND "EURO-COMMINISM". ON SWEDISH AFFAIRS, SCHORI TALKED ABOUT THE FUND PROPOSED BY PALME TO EASE THE PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRY. (STRAUSZ-HUPE NOTED THAT TCO LEADED BODSTROM SAID THERE WAS NO ENTHUSIASM IN LABOUT FOR THIS PROPOSAL.) SCHORI ALSO ATTACKED GOS TAX POLICY (A CURRENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TACTIC) FOR FAVOURING THE WEALTHY. SCHORI SAID THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WANTED TO WIN IN THE 1979 NATIONAL ELECTIONS, BUT IT WAS POSSIBLE THE PRESENT COALITION MIGHT BRING ABOUT ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND THUS WIN RE-ELECTION; OR ELSE THEY MIGHT LEAVE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS A DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION TO DEAL WITH. (STRAUSZ-HUPE SAID HE SUCCEEDED IN NOT COMMENTING THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAD DONE WHEN THEY LEFT OFFICE.) PALME'S TRAVEL PLANS: A VISIT TO THE UN ANTI-APARTHEID MEETING AT LAGOS; THEN A TRIP TO THE "FRONT LINE STATES" FOR THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL; AND IN NOVEMBER, A VISIT TO THE US WEST COAST TO RECEIVE THE RALSTON PRIZE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

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9. MARCUS WALLENBERG, BANKER-INDUSTRIALIST. WALLENBERG SPOKE OF THE HUGE INCREASE IN SWEDISH EXTERNAL INDEBTEDNESS, AND SAID SWEDISH CREDIT WAS ALREADY LESS GOOD THAN NORWAY'S. IN 1945

SWEDEN HAD THE ONLY UNDAMAGED INDUSTRIAL PLANT IN EUROPE AND WORKED HARD; NOW THE COUNTRY WAS COMPLACENT AND SELF-INDULGENT. ON THE POLITICAL SCENE, WALLENBERG SAID PALME WAS INCITING THE TRADE UNIONS TO ACT SO AS TO SABOTAGE THE COALITION GOVERNMENT; THEN PALME WOULD RETURN TO OFFICE, TURN THE SCREWS, AND TAKE THE NECESSARY AUSTERITY MEASURES WHICH THE COALITION WAS TOO WEAK OR DIVIDED TO TAKE.

10. AXEL AX:SON JOHNSON, INDUSTRIALIST. JOHNSON WAS NOT SO PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE ECONOMY AS MANY SWEDES, BUT STRAUZS-HUPE NOTED THAT HE PRESIDED OVER A DIVERSIFIED CONGLOMERATE, WHICH WAS IN BETTER SHAPE THAN THE SWEDISH ECONOMY IN GENERAL. THE PRINCIPAL POINT JOHNSON MADE WAS THAT THE REDUCTION OF US IMPORTS OF SWEDISH SPECIALTY STEEL WAS THE HURTING THE SWEDISH STEEL INDUSTRY BADLY.

11. GUNNAR NILSSON, HEAD OF LO, SWEDISH TRADE UNION. NILSSON MADE A VERY STRONG PITCH AGAINST THE US LEAVING THE ILO, AND SPOKE OF HIS OWN CABLE TO GEORGE MEANY. (THE ARGUMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT, BEING FAMILIAR TO THE DEPARTMENT, ARE NOT REPEATED.) ON THE SWEDISH ECONOMY, NILSSON EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SPECIALTY STEEL SITUATION AND THE DELETERIOUS EFFECT OF US QUOTAS ON SWEDEN.

12. LENNART BODSTROM, HEAD OF TCO, SWEDISH TRADE UNION. BODSTROM ALSO DWELT LARGELY ON THE ILO QUESTION, ARGUING AGAINST A US PULLOUT. (HE NOTED THAT MEANY HAD HAD A LONG EVENING'S TALK WITH SWEDISH AMB TO THE US WACHTMEISTER, SO THE SWEDES KNOW THE ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON VERY WELL. AGAIN THEY ARE NOT REPEATED HERE.) BODSTROM SPOKE OF THE CRISIS IN THE SWEDISH STEEL INDUSTRY AND THE PAPER-PULP INDUSTRY; HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE PAPER INDUSTRY, WHICH HAD REFUSED TO LOWER PRICES AND SELL OFF ITS HUGE SURPLUS. ON NON-SWEDISH MATTERS, BODSTROM TOLD STRAUZS-HUPE THERE WAS A STRONG MOVE AFOOT TO MERGE THE FORCE-OUVRIERE IN FRANCE WITH THE CGT; STRAUZS-HUPS SAID HE HAD NOT HEARD THIS BEFORE, AND COULD IMAGINE THE AFL-CIO'S REACTION.

13. DR. CURT MILEIKOWSKY, HEAD OF SAAB-SCANIA. STRAUZS-HUPE SAW DR. MILEIKOWSKY ON AUGUST 22 AND TELEPHONED CHARGE A BRIEF RUN-DOWN. PRINCIPAL POINTS OF INTEREST WERE ON B3LA AND VIGGEN AIR-CRAFT. ON B3LA, MILEIKOWSKY FELT FAIRLY CONFIDENT DESICION WOULD INDEED BE TAKEN TO GO AHEAD WITH PRODUCTION. ON VIGGEN SALES ABROAD, HE REGARDED SALES TO AUSTRIA AS LIKELY; SALES TO AUSTRALIA WERE UNLIKELY, ALTHOUGH SAAB-SCANIA WAS STILL HANGING IN UNTIL FINAL DECISION MADE IN CANBERRA; AND ON INDIA, SAAB-SCANIA DID HAVE HOPES OF REOPENING QUESTION OF SALES IF THERE WAS ANY HOPE US WOULD ALLOW SUCH SALES ON THE SUBCONTINENT.

14. COMMENT: AMBASSADOR STRAUZ-HUPE'S VISIT WAS A VERY WELCOME ONE FOR THE EMBASSY AND ALSO FOR HIS MANY SWEDISH FRIENDS. THE BREADTH OF HIS APPOINTMENTS INDICATES THE REGARD SWEDES HAVE FOR HIM AS AN INTERLOCUTOR. WE CONSIDER HIS VISIT PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN TESTIFYING TO THE CONTINUITY IN US FOREIGN POLICY GOING BEYOND CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATIONS. WHILE WE DO NOT AGREE, CONFIDENTIAL

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OBVIOUSLY, WITH EVERY POINT STRAUZ-HUPE MADE (E.G. ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR ON ARGUMENTS FOR SWEDEN'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO), HIS VISIT WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL IN CONTINUING THE US-SWEDISH DIALOGUE TO WHICH HE CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH DURING HIS OWN SERVICE HERE AS AMBASSADOR.
PERRY

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